Calhoun: The NPS Institutional Archive

DSpace Repository

Theses and Dissertations | 1. Thesis and Dissertation Collection, all items

1968

Coverage by eight Wisconsin newspapers of the 1956 and 1964 presidential campaigns.

Repass, Donald E.

University of Wisconsin

http://hdl.handle.net/10945/40085

This publication is a work of the U.S. Government as defined in Title 17, United States Code, Section 101. Copyright protection is not available for this work in the United States.

Downloaded from NPS Archive: Calhoun

Calhoun is the Naval Postgraduate School's public access digital repository for research materials and institutional publications created by the NPS community. Calhoun is named for Professor of Mathematics Guy K. Calhoun, NPS's first appointed -- and published -- scholarly author.

Dudley Knox Library / Naval Postgraduate School
411 Dyer Road / 1 University Circle
Monterey, California USA 93943

http://www.nps.edu/library

NPS ARCHIVE
1968
REPASS, D.

Thesis
R355

COVERAGE BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS OF THE 1956 AND 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

BY

DONALD E. REPASS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

(Journalism)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1968

~~Thesis R355~~
NPS ARCHIVE
1968
REPASS, D.

LIBRARY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CALIF. 93940

DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CA 93943-5101

APPROVED Steven H. Chaffee

DATE January 17, 1968

LIBRARY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CA 93943-5101

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation for the cooperation and assistance provided by Professor Steven H. Chaffee. Thanks are also extended to Guido H. Stempel III and William R. Reilly, whose prior research in this field of political news coverage provided the author with invaluable guidance in research design. And a special word of thanks to Mrs. Lloyd J. Renneberg--a person and typist par excellence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Press Responsibility	1
	Press Criticism	6
	Studies of Campaign Coverage	8
	Need for More Research	12
	Purpose	16
II.	METHOD	22
	Design	22
	Selection of Newspapers	22
	Pertinent Data on Newspapers and Their Cities	24
	Selection of Campaigns	26
	Time Periods Within the Campaigns	27
	Random Sample of Newspaper Issues	28
	Content Analysis Techniques	29
	Reliability	31
	Significant Event Coverage	31
	Administrative Versus Non-Administrative Coverage	32
	Procedure	32
	Data Collection	32

Chapter Page

Definitions 33

Coding Instructions 35

III. RESULTS 38

Column Inch Coverage 38

1956-64 Shifts in Percentage of Coverage . . 41

Variations in Coverage During the Five Time Periods 45

Headline Distribution 46

Direction of Coverage and Headlines 50

Significant Event Coverage 56

Administrative and Non-Administrative Coverage 61

Comparison of the Stempel Studies with This Study 64

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 73

Performance of the Eight Wisconsin Newspapers 73

Improved Performance? 76

Balanced Coverage--A Goal? 77

Future Research 78

BIBLIOGRAPHY 81

APPENDIX A. Significant Democratic Events in the 1956 Presidential Campaign 86

APPENDIX B. Significant Republican Events in the 1956 Presidential Campaign 88

Chapter Page

APPENDIX C. Significant Democratic Events in the 1964 Presidential Campaign 90

APPENDIX D. Significant Republican Events in the 1964 Presidential Campaign 92

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Column Inches Devoted by Eight Wisconsin Newspapers to Coverage of the 1956 Presidential Campaign, Sept. 1-Nov. 5	39
2.	Column Inches Devoted by Eight Wisconsin Newspapers to Coverage of the 1964 Presidential Campaign, Sept. 3-Nov. 2	40
3.	Percentage of Democratic and Republican Space in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in Each of Five Time Periods During the 1956 Presidential Campaign	42
4.	Percentage of Democratic and Republican Space in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in Each of Five Time Periods During the 1964 Presidential Campaign	44
5.	Distribution of Headlines for the Democratic and Republican Presidential Candidates in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers During the 1956 Campaign	48
6.	Distribution of Headlines for the Democratic and Republican Presidential Candidates in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers During the 1964 Campaign	49
7.	Direction of Coverage by Percentage in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in the 1956 Campaign, by Party	51
8.	Direction of Headlines by Percentage in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in the 1956 Campaign, by Party	52
9.	Direction of Coverage by Percentage in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in the 1964 Campaign, by Party	54
10.	Direction of Headlines by Percentage in Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in the 1964 Campaign, by Party	55

Table | Page

11. Coverage of Significant Democratic Events by Eight Wisconsin Newspapers During the 1956 Presidential Campaign 57

12. Coverage of Significant Republican Events by Eight Wisconsin Newspapers During the 1956 Presidential Campaign 58

13. Coverage of Significant Democratic Events by Eight Wisconsin Newspapers During the 1964 Presidential Campaign 59

14. Coverage of Significant Republican Events by Eight Wisconsin Newspapers During the 1964 Presidential Campaign 60

15. Percentage of Administrative and Non-Administrative Coverage for the 1956 and 1964 Presidential Campaigns 62

16. Total Column Inches of Space Devoted to Coverage of the 1960 and 1964 Presidential Campaigns by the "Prestige Press" and by the Eight Wisconsin Newspapers in the 1956 and 1964 Campaigns 66

17. Percentage of Space in the "Prestige Press" Received by the Democratic and Republican Candidates During the 1960 and 1964 Campaigns 68

18. Percentage of Space in the Eight Wisconsin Newspapers Received by the Democratic and Republican Candidates During the 1956 and 1964 Campaigns 69

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The condition of the Press in a democratic country is a matter of public concern and a proper object of public scrutiny. A newspaper is something more than a commodity to be bought and sold, and the production of newspapers should not be governed by commercial interests. Moreover, any large concentration of power --in private or irresponsible hands constitutes a potential threat to political freedom and constant vigilance is required to prevent its abuse.[1]

Press Responsibility

The classic laissez-faire view of the press is summed up by William P. Hamilton of the Wall Street Journal, who is reported to have said:

> A newspaper is a private enterprise owing nothing whatever to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefor affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of the owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk. . . .[2]

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., by contrast, has written:

> . . . It is the first principle of our Bill of Rights that the government must let all the powerful enterprises in the press run loose. I am as sure as I am of anything that this ought to be so. My point is that this freedom from legal responsibility throws on the owners and press associations of newspapers the heavy moral responsibility to do for themselves what the law does for other enterprises. It is the task of the press itself to make sure that it increasingly performs the services which the American people need from the press.[3]

Whatever the merits of either of these antithetical views, there are no established rules setting forth the specific responsibilities of the press to its readers.

The principle of "social responsibility of the press" holds that the power and news semi-monopoly position of the media, and their Constitutional freedom, impose on them an obligation to see that all sides are fairly presented and that the public has enough information to decide; and that if the media do not take on themselves this responsibility, it may be necessary for some other agency of the public to enforce it.[4] But this is still chiefly a concept, not law or even a generally accepted view.[5]

In the nineteenth century a city like Hartford, Connecticut, had 13,000 people and 13 newspapers. If a reader didn't like the way a paper presented its news or was against a paper's editorial policy, then he had plenty of others to choose from.[6]

In 1957 in the United States, there was one daily for approximately every 90,000 people. And only six per cent of the cities with a local daily newspaper had competing ownership.[7] Today, the situation is no better, with one daily for approximately 115,000 people (based on a 200 million population and a total of 1,754 daily newspapers as listed in the 1967 E. & P. Yearbook).

Concentration of ownership among American newspapers has been proceeding since the latter part of the nineteenth century in the wake of even more far-reaching consolidations and mergers in business and industry at large.[8]

As a result of this predominance of one-paper towns and, also, because of the shrinking number of owners, many newspapers have come to accept the greater responsibility of presenting all sides of a controversy fairly and equitably.[9] Wilbur Schramm writes:

> . . . with the coming of bigness and fewness, the separate, clashing voices are no longer raised so readily in a "free market place of ideas" . . . A new responsibility has come to rest on our news and opinion media. Whereas, formerly they were responsible only for voicing clearly and vigorously the views each represented, in full confidence that the public would be able to read contrary views and decide between them, now it is coming to be obligatory for these media actually to seek out and represent all significant points of view.[10]

Two well-known men in the field of journalism equate press responsibility with the special position given the press in the First Amendment.

Norman Isaacs, managing editor of the Louisville <u>Times</u>, said, "We are common carriers. The freedom of the press was given for that purpose--and that purpose alone. Freedom of the press cannot mean the license to keep people from knowing."[11]

Louis M. Lyons, curator of the Nieman Foundation, said, "There is only one function which justifies the exalted protection given the press in our Constitution:

that is as a common carrier of information." And the conveying of this information is vital for a manifest reason: people who govern themselves have to know the score.[12]

Inasmuch as our democracy is based upon the assumption of an enlightened public and the newspaper serves as a vital source of information for that public, there is today an implied responsibility upon the press to present an objective picture of controversial subjects to the people. If the press meets this responsibility the people should be better able to choose intelligently their representatives in government. However, if the press fails to provide full and impartial coverage of political campaigns, then the foundation of our democracy may be weakened.

What recourse is there if the press fails to provide the information people need to govern themselves?

In 1947 the Commission on Freedom of the Press, headed by Robert M. Hutchins, then president of the University of Chicago, said, "the freedom of the press is in danger." The Commission, which was composed of 12 scholars and President Hutchins, offered three reasons for its statement:

1. As the importance of communication has increased, its control has come into fewer hands.

2. The few in control have failed to meet the needs of the people.

3. Press practices at times have been so irresponsible that, if continued, society is bound to take control for its own protection.[13]

The Commission also asserted:

> No democracy will indefinitely tolerate concentrations of private power, irresponsible and strong enough to thwart the democratic aspirations of the people. If these giant agencies of communication are irresponsible not even the First Amendment will protect their freedom from government control. The Amendment will be amended.[14]

In 1951 Marquis Childs expressed similar thoughts on press freedom. He said:

> The politician who has grounds for believing that a "paper curtain" was pulled down on him will think in terms of revenge. Or in any event he will scarcely be an eager defender of the rights of a free press. If such resentments grow and are multiplied, the ground is prepared psychologically for radical actions that can undermine the relationship between the estates. . . . I do not believe that these are imaginary fears. In my opinion they go to the root of the relationship of freedom on the one hand and responsibility on the other hand; between the privilege enjoyed by the press and the service to society which is inherent in the very nature of the franchise it enjoys.[15]

Again, the last sentence in Peterson's essay on social responsibility states that "it may be necessary for some agency of the public to enforce it," should the media fail in their responsibility.[16]

Whether control of the press in any form will ever occur in the United States may be doubtful, but these statements suggest that it is an alternative should the press fail in its implied responsibility to its readers.

How well is the press performing in the area of

immediate interest in this study--political news reporting?

Press Criticism

Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Wisconsin in 1952. During a radio speech while campaigning for governor in La Crosse, Wis., Proxmire said:

> My charge against a majority of the newspapers of Wisconsin is not a blanket denunciation. But it is deadly serious. Some vigorously Republican papers have done a splendid job of reporting our speeches, while denouncing us /Democrats/ editorially. Unfortunately, most papers have been less than fair.[17]

Eric Sevareid said:

> Nearly all the great weekly publications, such as Time and Life, are not only for Eisenhower in their editorials, but some are unabashedly using their news and picture space as well to help his cause, by giving him the predominant play, week after week. But they are fairness itself, compared to some big midwest and western dailies where Stevenson is reported as if he were a candidate for county clerk. . . .[18]

In January 1953, Robert H. Estabrook, an editorial writer for the Washington Post, claimed that some newspapers "prostituted" their news functions for partisan purposes. In elaboration of this charge, he said:

> I have been told of one large paper in upstate New York which devoted its entire front page to a visit by Eisenhower, but when Stevenson spoke in that city the story was buried in the inside. One correspondent complained to me that while he was in Springfield he would have had trouble gathering from a local Republican paper that Stevenson was ever a candidate, much less that his headquarters were in Springfield. In talking with correspondents I had heard similar complaints covering papers in many parts of the Midwest and along the Pacific Coast.[19]

The 1960 coverage of the presidential campaign was again a source of controversy. Pierre Salinger, President Kennedy's press secretary, expressed concern over the slanting of news that he said turned some newspapers into "campaign sheets."[20] Even Richard Nixon's press secretary, Herbert Klein, criticized reporting of the campaign, saying that about 15 per cent of the stories filed by correspondents traveling with Nixon were unfair.[21]

Criticism of the press in the 1964 presidential election was almost entirely from the Republicans. It seemed to be directed mainly at columnists, but sometimes included reporters and tended to spill over to include the entire press at times.[22]

Press criticism is not new. The first American book extensively attacking the press was published in 1859[23] and there had been attacks before that; but the chief wave of criticism followed the publication of a series of articles by Will Irwin in Colliers in 1911.[24] Among other things, Irwin asserted that the influences of the newspaper had shifted from its editorials to its news columns.[25]

In 1956 Theodore Peterson wrote, "Criticism [of the press] increased in force and intensity in the twentieth century."[26] And Wilbur Schramm wrote in 1957 that "mass communication has been subjected to an increasing wave of criticism."[27]

What has been accomplished to determine whether this

criticism is justified?

Studies of Campaign Coverage

There have been numerous studies conducted and published which have investigated the performance of newspapers in presenting news of political campaigns.

In 1937 Edwin O. Stene of the University of Kansas published a study on the 1936 presidential campaign. He studied 21 U. S. dailies and concluded that 20 of the 21 newspapers gave a majority of their political news space to the candidate they supported editorially.[28]

Stene investigated 15 large dailies in the 1944 presidential campaign. He determined that, with the exception of the New York Times, the newspapers gave more favorable news attention to the candidate they supported editorially.[29]

Martin Millspaugh studied four Baltimore newspapers in the 1948 presidential campaign. He found that, although all four of the newspapers editorially supported Dewey, two gave Truman equal or greater news space.[30]

Jean Begeman examined 21 dailies throughout the country. She reported bias toward the Republicans in the number and prominence of items, photos, and headlines.[31]

Arthur E. Rowse wrote Slanted News, a study of the 1952 Nixon fund affair. He surveyed the front page of 31 newspapers and compared how each handled this newsworthy

event. He concluded that, with the possible exception of the New York Times, all papers surveyed--both Republican and Democrat--showed evidence of favoritism in their news columns, which coincided with the papers' editorial positions.[32]

A one-day Associated Press study on October 10, 1952, analyzed 115 dailies. The results:

> Thirty-one per cent of the newspapers examined gave equal treatment to either Eisenhower and Stevenson or Eisenhower and Truman. Forty-seven per cent gave the Democrats the dominant coverage. Twenty-one per cent gave the edge to Eisenhower. A majority of newspapers, which supposedly have been supporting the Republican candidate in their editorial columns, have been leaning over backwards so far to be fair in their news coverage that they have actually been giving "the break" to the Democratic candidate.[33]

This unusual finding may be peculiar to the news of the particular day studied.

Sidney Kobre researched 34 Florida dailies in their handling of the 1952 presidential election. He concluded that, while 21 dailies editorially favored the Republican party, and eight supported the Democratic party (five were neutral), the Florida newspapers favored the Democratic party in their news pages by a small percentage.[34]

Charles E. Higbie surveyed 14 Wisconsin newspapers during the 1952 presidential election campaign. He indicated that, although major Democratic and Republican political figures were accorded nearly the same amount of front page space, the GOP presidential candidate appeared

more often in the major headlines and in the news pictures of the campaign.[35]

Nathan Blumberg, in One Party Press?, studied 35 daily newspapers on their coverage of the 1952 presidential campaign. He indicated that there was slanting in the news columns. Of the 33 papers which took an editorial stand in the campaign, 22 gave a greater amount of front page coverage to the candidate they supported.[36]

Robert Batlin reported that three San Francisco newspapers gave more nearly equal news treatment to the two major parties in the 1952 presidential campaign than did the same newspapers in the 1896 campaign. But they still gave the party each supported editorially an advantage.[37]

Malcolm W. Klein and Nathan Maccoby investigated four pro-Stevenson and four pro-Eisenhower newspapers in the 1952 campaign. They found that all the papers gave the editorially supported candidates more coverage than the unsupported candidates.[38]

A study by LeRoy C. Ferguson and Ralph H. Smuckler in Wisconsin in 1954 showed that senatorial campaign news coverage was directly related to the editorial policy of the papers. Four papers editorially favoring Senator McCarthy favored him consistently more in their news columns than did the two papers that editorially supported the Democratic senatorial candidate, Fairchild.[39]

In 1956 Douglas C. Kelley surveyed the coverage by six Michigan dailies of the congressional campaign in two marginal Michigan districts. He found that incumbents fared better than non-incumbents in news coverage and Republicans generally better than Democrats.[40]

Charles W. Zuegner studied the political news coverage of two major dailies during the first 100 days of the Eisenhower Administration. He concluded that political bias was definitely present in both newspapers in their coverage.[41]

James W. Markham examined 26 Pennsylvania newspapers' coverage of the 1958 state election. He found that the newspapers in their coverage favored the same party their editorials favored.[42]

Guido H. Stempel III investigated the 1960 campaign coverage of 15 newspapers, the so-called "prestige press." He revealed that the Democrats got slightly better news coverage than the Republicans did; the margin, however, was very slight. Stempel added that "by no stretch of the imagination can the 'prestige press' be called one-sided in its news coverage of this campaign."[43]

Despite this impressive array of evidence, newsmen often discount charges of bias. After the 1960 presidential election, Robert E. Blackmon queried 107 newspaper editors to see if they had detected "bias for or against political candidates or parties in the straight news." Their answers

ran five to one in the negative.[44]

Stempel conducted a follow-up study of the 1964 presidential campaign utilizing the same 15 "prestige newspapers." In summary, he determined that the 15 newspapers again in 1964 as a group gave almost equal space to both sides. The Democrats again received slightly more space, but the Republicans received more front page coverage.[45]

Of the 18 studies previously mentioned, 13 researchers found newspapers suspect. News favoritism, bias, greater coverage, more headlines and pictures were their findings.

It appears that the criticism of political news reporting by the press--examples of which were mentioned previously--had some validity.

Need For More Research

In 1961 Nathan Blumberg, dean of the School of Journalism at Montana State University, said:

> We always have critics of the press--good and bad, qualified and unqualified, right and wrong--but rarely have we witnessed a steady barrage laid down in a frontal assault similar to that which we recently have been subjected.[46]

Blumberg added that "the voices [of criticism] come from every side and the babel is triumphantly loud and noisy, but the fact remains that nothing much ever really happens."[47] In other words, critics criticize and

publishers and editors defend, but nothing constructive arises from the polemic.

David Starr, managing editor of the Long Island Daily Press, in 1963 added support to Blumberg's contention when he said, "Newspapers must expect criticism. We're fair game because we make everyone else our fair game. What bothers me is so much of the criticism is uninformed and that we do so little to answer it."[48]

Numerous recommendations have been made on how to obtain more constructive criticism of the press.

James S. Pope, managing editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, in 1948 said: "I'd like to see appointed a university committee to make the first academic study of individual newspapers and to grade them closely on performance of their perpetual obligation to present a balanced and unbiased and intelligible picture of human affairs day by day."[49]

Arthur E. Rowse in Slanted News recommended a network of panels of working newspapermen in various sections of the country. These panels, sponsored by one of the national newspaper organizations, could meet regularly to judge newspaper objectivity.[50]

Blumberg,[51] Frank Kelly and Harry S. Ashmore[52] in 1961 recommended that an independent national board or committee be established to evaluate press performance and press criticism. Blumberg suggested that this board,

composed of vigorous, competent critics, would examine and investigate the press on a national scale, independently, without fear or favor. They would be free to report regularly what they found. They would defend the press against uninformed or misinformed attacks as well as point out the shortcomings of individual newspapers. The committee would allow space in its reports for replies and for dissenting opinion. But most important, it would provide the central point for a continuing study of the American press and the critics would know where their headquarters are located.[53]

William Benton, chairman of the board and publisher of the Encyclopedia Britannica, declared in 1963 that he believed there was a need "for a continuing body to criticize the performance of the press."[54] John Tebbel, in support of Benton's statement, said, "The mass media, and the public even more, are in need of a citizen's commission or a board of review."[55]

Arthur M. Schlesinger in 1965 recommended that:

> . . . a newspaper appoint an advisory council, including representatives of the principal segments of the community, which should from time to time transmit to the editor or publisher its findings of the coverage of news. This would in no way violate the newspapers' cherished freedom of judgment. It could always ignore recommendations deemed unsuitable, but the plan would expose the paper to a systematic and thoughtful outside review which would almost certainly lead to better ways of discharging its modern obligations.[56]

Of the many recommendations mentioned, I believe

Blumberg, Kelly and Ashmore had the better idea. Obviously and unfortunately their suggestion has not become a reality and its implementation is unlikely.

What can be done now to answer the critics and improve press performance?

In 1961 Nathan Blumberg partially answered this question when he said:

> The American press has notably improved its performance as the result of criticism and critical surveys. Make no mistake about it; the greatly improved impartiality of coverage of the 1960 campaign was due, in large part, to the fact the newspapers knew they were being closely watched.[57]

Responsible criticism based on scholarly surveys can help improve press performance as well as help eliminate false, unfounded criticism. To be most effective, however, the survey results should be published and should refer to specific newspapers, rather than the general term, "press."

Today, unfortunately, research in newspaper political campaign news coverage is not in vogue. Of the 18 published studies previously mentioned in this chapter, 12 were in the period 1948-1956; of these, eight concerned the 1952 campaign. Only four of these studies were published after 1958.

The summary of theses and dissertations that appears annually in Journalism Quarterly revealed a peak of ten studies on political news coverage in 1956, eight in 1958,

four in 1960, three in 1962, one in 1964, and then an upswing to four in 1965. The trend is obviously downward with only a minor change in 1965, doubtless due to that 1964 peculiarity, an election where many normally Republican papers endorsed a Democrat.

More researchers are needed in this field of political news reporting.

In 1966 John C. Merrill, professor of journalism at the University of Missouri, said:

> The press needs criticizing--from within and from without. Responsible and intelligent criticism is as good for the press as it is in the press. Perhaps the critics will soon be forthcoming; there are many of us who feel that it should be and hope that it will be.[58]

Purpose

The research objectives of this thesis are: (1) To provide a descriptive analysis of the presidential campaign coverage, in terms of space and display, of eight Wisconsin newspapers for the years 1956 and 1964; (2) to describe the direction (favorable, unfavorable, neutral) of coverage and headlines, by party, in the eight papers for both campaigns; (3) to determine the completeness of coverage by comparing significant campaign events displayed on Page One of the New York Times with their coverage in these eight newspapers; (4) to provide a descriptive analysis of the administrative and non-administrative news coverage, in terms of space, of the eight newspapers for 1956 and 1964;

and (5) to analyze the data compiled and to evaluate their performance in comparison with two studies on the "prestige press" (Guido H. Stempel III's research on the 1960 and 1964 presidential campaigns).

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]James S. Pope, "On Understanding the Press," Nieman Reports, 2:7 (April 1948).

[2]Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 73.

[3]Zechariah Chafee, Jr., "An Outsider Looks at the Press," Nieman Reports, 7:5 (January 1953).

[4]Siebert et al., op. cit., p. 5.

[5]Ibid., p. 75.

[6]Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communications (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 4.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Raymond B. Nixon and Jean Ward, "Trends in Newspaper Ownership and Inter-Media Competition," Journalism Quarterly, 38:4 (Winter 1961).

[9]Schramm, op. cit., p. 92.

[10]Ibid., p. 5.

[11]Ibid., p. 92.

[12]George L. Bird and Frederic E. Merwin, The Press and Society (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 99.

[13]Louis M. Lyons, "A Free and Responsible Press," Nieman Reports, 1:1 (April 1947).

[14]Ibid.

[15]Marquis Childs, "What Signs Threaten the Free Press?" Nieman Reports, 5:9 (July 1951).

[16]Siebert et al., op. cit., p. 5.

[17]William Proxmire, "Where Democrats Aren't News," Nieman Reports, 7:13 (January 1953).

[18]Alan Barth, "The Heat of the Headlines in the Campaign and After," Nieman Reports, 7:7 (April 1953).

[19]Robert H. Estabrook, "Press Performance in the Campaign," Nieman Reports, 7:11 (January 1953).

[20]"Salinger and Klein Urge Study of Press Fairness," Editor & Publisher, 99:13 (December 10, 1960).

[21]Ibid.

[22]Guido H. Stempel III, "The Prestige Press in Two Presidential Elections," Journalism Quarterly, 42:15 (Winter 1965).

[23]Lambert A. Wilmer, Our Press Gang: Or A Complete Exposition of the Corruption and Crimes of the American Newspaper (Philadelphia: J. T. Lloyd, 1859).

[24]Schramm, op. cit., p. 87.

[25]Siebert et al., op. cit., p. 79.

[26]Ibid., p. 78.

[27]Schramm, op. cit., p. 87.

[28]Edwin O. Stene, "Newspapers in the Presidential Campaign," Social Science, 12:215 (April 1937).

[29]Edwin O. Stene, "Newspapers in the Presidential Campaign," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 25:264 (March 1945).

[30]Martin Millspaugh, "Baltimore Newspapers and the Presidential Election," Public Opinion Quarterly, 13:122+ (Spring 1949).

[31]Jean Begeman, "The One Party Press Pays Off," New Republic, 127:19+ (November 17, 1952).

[32]Arthur E. Rowse, Slanted News (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 127.

[33]"Page One Display Contradicts Authors on Press Bias," Editor & Publisher, 85:7+ (October 25, 1952).

[34]Sidney Kobre, "How Florida Dailies Handled the 1952 Presidential Election Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 30:169 (Spring 1953).

[35]Charles E. Higbie, "Wisconsin Dailies in the 1952 Campaign: Space vs Display," Journalism Quarterly 31:56 (Winter 1954).

[36]Nathan B. Blumberg, One Party Press? (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), p. 44.

[37]Robert Batlin, "San Francisco Newspapers' Campaign Coverage: 1896, 1952," Journalism Quarterly, 31:303 (Summer 1954).

[38]Malcolm W. Klein and Nathan Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 31:295 (Summer 1954).

[39]LeRoy C. Ferguson and Ralph H. Smuckler, Politics in the Press (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1954), p. 64.

[40]Douglas C. Kelley, "Press Coverage of Two Michigan Congressional Elections," Journalism Quarterly, 35:447 (Fall 1958).

[41]Charles W. Zuegner, "A Study of Political News in Two Major Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, 33:223+ (Spring 1956).

[42]William R. Reilly, "Coverage By Four Wisconsin Newspapers of the 1960 Political Campaign at the Presidential, Gubernatorial, Congressional Levels" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1961).

[43]Guido H. Stempel III, "The Prestige Press Covers the 1960 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 38:159 (Spring 1961).

[44]Robert E. Blackmon, "Bias in the 1960 Presidential Election Campaign," Nieman Reports, 15:20 (October 1961).

[45]Stempel, op. cit., p. 21.

[46]Nathan B. Blumberg, "The Press and Its Ineffective Critics," Nieman Reports, 15:31 (July 1961).

[47]Ibid., p. 32.

[48]David Starr, "The Quiet Revolution," The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 403:11 (April 1, 1963).

[49]Pope, op. cit., p. 9.

[50]Rowse, op. cit., p. 133.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[52] Frank K. Kelly, "Continuing Criticism of the Press," *Nieman Reports*, 15:37 (October 1961).

[53] Blumberg, *Nieman*, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[54] John Tebbel, "Responsibility and Mass Media," *Saturday Review*, 42:59 (February 9, 1963).

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Give the Public a Break!" *Nieman Reports*, 19:19 (September 1965).

[57] Blumberg, *Nieman*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[58] John C. Merrill, "Who Can--Or Should--Evaluate the Press?" *Gazette*, 12:171 (No. 2/3 1966).

CHAPTER II

METHOD

This chapter includes the design of the research conducted and the procedure followed in the collection, classification, and tabulation of the data.

Design

Selection of Newspapers

Most of the prior research in the area of political news reporting, discussed in Chapter I, related news favoritism or bias with a newspaper's editorial support for a candidate. Consequently, in determining which newspapers to utilize in this study, primary concern was with the editorial stands of newspapers toward presidential candidates.

The editorial preferences of the entire Wisconsin daily press was tabulated from the polls published in the October and/or November editions of Editor & Publisher during election years since 1932. In a few instances, individual newspapers' editorial pages had to be examined to determine a paper's editorial stand, using the collections at the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Several newspapers had given the same political party's candidate their editorial endorsement throughout these years. And some of the papers had only departed once from absolute one-party endorsement. Because of their one-sided support, these newspapers were considered more suspect of political party favoritism in their news columns than other Wisconsin papers that were less rigid in their party endorsements.

The field of selection was further delimited by another characteristic--non-competitive status. To be included in this study, a paper had to be the only daily newspaper published in its city. It is believed that papers without local competition have a greater responsibility to provide their readers with both sides of controversial issues, because of their near-monopoly situations.

The product of this selection was these eight newspapers:

1. Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Union
   (Titled the Daily Jefferson County Union in 1956)
2. Green Bay Press-Gazette
3. Janesville Gazette
   (Titled the Janesville Daily Gazette in 1956)
4. LaCrosse Tribune
5. Marshfield News-Herald
6. Oshkosh Northwestern
   (Titled the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern in 1956)
7. Sheboygan Press
8. Wausau Record-Herald

Since 1932, six of the papers had always supported the same political party's presidential candidate. The other two--Green Bay Press-Gazette and the Marshfield News-Herald--only once departed from this pattern. In 1932 the Green Bay Press-Gazette supported Franklin D. Roosevelt; however, since that time, it has supported only Republican presidential candidates. And the News-Herald departed from its otherwise consistent Republican support by giving Roosevelt the edge over Thomas E. Dewey in 1944. The only paper of the eight to support the Democratic candidate regularly was the Sheboygan Press.

Pertinent Data on Newspapers and Their Cities

Five of the eight newspapers selected have been under the same ownership since 1932. The Janesville Gazette, Oshkosh Northwestern, and Wausau Record-Herald changed ownership after 1932, but prior to the 1956 campaign. Thus, all eight newspapers were owned--and presumably influenced--by the same persons in 1956 as in the 1964 campaign.

These eight newspapers have a combined circulation of 201,064, almost 17 per cent of the total daily newspaper circulation in the state of Wisconsin.

A brief sketch of the cities and newspaper circulations follows:

	1956 Pop.[a]	1964 Pop.[b]	Newspapers Under Study[b] 1956 Circ.	1964 Circ.	Prime Industry[c]
Fort Atkinson	7,257	8,501	3,885	4,762	Agriculture
Green Bay	58,827	67,856	37,109	40,271	Lumber Products, Fisheries, Grains
Janesville	31,058	37,309	22,366	25,372	Automobiles, Pens, Farming
LaCrosse	47,559	47,861	32,697	32,907	Manufacturing, Agriculture, Breweries
Marshfield	13,449	14,903	9,932	11,624	Agriculture, Brewery
Oshkosh	43,500	46,148	18,650	25,935	Manufacturing, Agriculture
Sheboygan	44,394	46,342	25,856	28,445	Manufacturing, Agriculture
Wausau	31,331	32,582	17,136	18,965	Lumber Products, Breweries, Agriculture

[a]Figures are interpolations from the 1950 and 1960 U. S. Census.

[b]Figures from Editor & Publisher Yearbook for applicable year.

[c]Data from 1967 N. W. Ayer and Sons Directory.

As the foregoing figures reveal, the circulation of all eight newspapers has increased since 1956. Also of note is that in 1956 these papers comprised 15.6 per cent of the total daily newspaper circulation in Wisconsin, but today that figure has increased to 16.9 per cent. Thus, these papers are gaining in both absolute and relative circulation, in terms of their importance to the state as a whole. Five of the eight newspapers had an increase in per capita circulation from 1956 to 1967. The Green Bay Press-Gazette, Janesville Gazette, and LaCrosse Tribune were the papers to experience a decline in per capita circulation during this period (this is based on the tabulated data above and the estimated population/circulation figures in the 1967 E. & P. Yearbook).

It must be remembered for purposes of this study that these eight newspapers are not intended to be a representative sample of Wisconsin newspapers; therefore, the findings of this thesis cannot be interpreted as necessarily reflecting the performance of the Wisconsin press as a whole.

Selection of Campaigns

The political campaigns of 1956 and 1964 were selected to provide a comparison of a factor in campaign news coverage that has not been studied on the presidential level--incumbency. The only study on incumbency was done

in 1956 when Douglas C. Kelley found that incumbents fared better than non-incumbents in news coverage. He surveyed two congressional campaigns in six Michigan dailies.[1]

This study will describe the coverage received by Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Democratic President Lyndon Baines Johnson, who were incumbents running for reelection during 1956 and 1964, respectively.

The time span of the two campaigns was arbitrarily defined as September 1-November 5, 1956, and September 3-November 2, 1964. The September 1, 1956, date was picked as the approximate midpoint between when Adlai Stevenson unofficially began his campaigning and when President Eisenhower officially opened his campaign for reelection. The September 3, 1964, date was when the newspapers had the stories about Goldwater's campaign kickoff in Prescott, Arizona. Both November 5, 1956, and November 2, 1964, were the last full days of the campaign before the election.

Time Periods Within the Campaigns

To examine variations in coverage from one time period to another, each campaign was divided into five time periods. The five periods in the 1956 campaign were September 1-September 14, September 15-September 27, September 28-October 10, October 11-October 23, and October 24-November 5. In the 1964 presidential campaign, the time periods were September 3-September 15,

September 16-September 27, September 28-October 9, October 10-October 21, and October 22-November 2.

Random Sample of Newspaper Issues

To preclude needless effort a random sample of three days was drawn from each of the five time periods of each campaign. Since one of the papers did not publish a Saturday or Sunday edition and five others did not publish on Sunday, only weekday editions were sampled.

The sampling method used was established by trial and error. A "weekday-only" calendar was drawn of the campaign period and the five time periods separated. Then starting with the first day of the campaign every subsequent third day was checked on the calendar. If, as occurred in the 1964 campaign, the days marked were grouped so that three were in each one of the five time periods established, then the sample was satisfactory. However, in the 1956 campaign, the second weekday of the first period proved to be the only starting point that permitted every third day to provide the distribution required.

This sampling method resulted in an equal distribution of weekdays being studied. Three Mondays, three Tuesdays, etc. were studied in both campaigns.

The same 15 editions of the eight newspapers were surveyed for each of the campaigns.

Content Analysis Techniques

Two content analysis techniques were used--space measurement and headline classification--and these were applied to all the news coverage about the campaign. Editorials and signed columns of opinion and interpretation were excluded.

Each news story was measured and its length in column inches recorded. It was also classified as being Democratic, Republican, or bipartisan on the basis of statement analysis. Separate figures were maintained for page one and inside pages. Because a number of the news stories covered both candidates, pro and con, it was necessary to analyze each story for the number of column inches devoted to each candidate.

Each campaign news headline was classified into one of the following five categories:

1. Streamer--A headline across the top of the page.

2. Spread Head--A headline more than two columns wide, but not extending across the page.

3. Two-Column Head--A headline two columns wide.

4. Major One-Column Head--A headline of 24 points or more, normally appearing at the top of the column or in some other strong display position (above the fold).

5. Minor One-Column Head--Any other one-column head.

It was assumed that these distinctions are

indications of real differences in news value in the opinion of the editor when he selected a particular size headline for a story.

Headlines were, also, classified as being Democratic, Republican, or bipartisan.

To have stopped here and presented the data would have provided the readers of this thesis a descriptive and relatively non-controversial presentation of the coverage of these two political campaigns (comparable to Guido H. Stempel III's two studies). However, to provide a completely accurate picture of the news coverage another variable had to be introduced--direction (favorable, unfavorable, or neutral). Column inches may show balanced coverage of two candidates, but it does not reveal that one candidate had 75% favorable-25% unfavorable coverage and the other had 25% favorable-75% unfavorable. In order to bring direction into this study and still not invalidate (because of the subjective judgments required) the study, direction values were introduced in separate tables.

The problem of determining direction of headlines was not as difficult as determining direction of news text. There was little question whether the headlines supported a candidate or was unfavorable to him; when doubt existed in this area, then the headline was classified neutral.

In determining the direction of news text, the problem was more difficult. However, much of the judgment

problem was eliminated by a maxim proffered by Chilton Bush. He wrote that, since "the only purpose a candidate and his supporters have for making a statement about their candidacy or the opposing candidacy is to advance their own candidacy, the direction of all such statements is determined merely by referring to the source."[2] Direction will be discussed further in the procedure section of this chapter.

Reliability

Although it is desirable in content analysis to conduct a reliability test to determine the degree of consistency of coding, such a test was not conducted on the data of this thesis. All decisions on relevancy, direction, and inclusion/exclusion were made by the author/coder. The training of other coders was not possible within the limitation of time and money for this study.

Significant Event Coverage

The front page coverage of the two presidential campaigns by the New York Times was surveyed. The Times was chosen because it is generally recognized as one of the fairest and most reliable newspapers in the United States.[3] Ten significant speeches made by each of the presidential candidates that were displayed on the front page of the Times were compared with their coverage in the eight papers

under study to reveal how completely these eight Wisconsin newspapers covered the campaign.

Administrative Versus Non-Administrative Coverage

Any column inches of text that were strictly administrative were so classified. Thus, when the President met a foreign dignitary in his capacity as head of state, signed a bill into law, or consulted with his cabinet on governmental matters, these events were classified administrative. If the President mixed politics with official government business, by speaking on his administration's gains while signing a bill, then the column inches of text went on the non-administrative side of the ledger. When doubt existed as to whether the news was administrative, the news was classified non-administrative.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, these data will be used to describe the news coverage received by a Republican incumbent President in 1956 and a Democratic incumbent President in 1964.

Procedure

Data Collection

The research involved the careful scanning of 15 editions of the eight newspapers for each campaign.

All news headlines and column inches of news text that mentioned the presidential candidates by name or title

were classified by newspaper as Democratic, Republican, or bipartisan on the basis of statement analysis. In addition, any column inches of text that were administrative were so classified.

These same yardsticks--column inches and headlines--were categorized by newspaper as favorable, unfavorable, or neutral to their respective referents in accordance with the working definitions and coding instructions set forth below. The coded data were then tabulated to reflect each newspaper's coverage:

(1) news coverage (page one, inside and total) in column inches, by party

(2) percentage of space by party, in each of five time periods

(3) number of each of five types of headlines, by party

(4) direction of coverage in percentage, by party

(5) direction of headlines in percentage, by party

Coverage of the ten significant events was tabulated by newspaper for each campaign and party.

Finally, the bar graph for administrative versus non-administrative coverage for each campaign by party was drafted.

Definitions

The operational definitions for this thesis are as follows:

Headline: The heading over a news column. Decks or secondary heads were counted separately.

News Story (or non-editorial, non-advertising coverage): Includes feature stories; but not items on editorial pages, signed editorials elsewhere, letters to the editor, nor syndicated columns, comic strips, and advice to the lovelorn.

Referents:

Adlai E. Stevenson

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Barry M. Goldwater

Lyndon B. Johnson

Direction: Favorable, unfavorable, or neutral to a referent.

Favorable: Indicating praise or support for a referent without doing likewise for the referent's opponent.

Unfavorable: Indicating criticism or lack of support for a referent without doing likewise for the referent's opponent.

Neutral: Indicating neither praise nor support for a referent nor criticism or lack of support for him. Also used when direction is so balanced that it cannot be determined to be favorable or unfavorable.

The underlying rule for determining direction was

consistency. Special care was taken to achieve consistency in coding all newspapers. It was felt that even though basic decisions as to coding might have been made erroneously, if these decisions were kept throughout the coding, the measurement would not be biased.

Coding Instructions

Inclusion, Non-inclusion:

Include a news headline or the column inches of a news story in this study if it mentions (by name or title) Eisenhower or Stevenson in the 1956 campaign and Johnson or Goldwater in 1964.

Column Inches:

1. When a referent is mentioned in an item chiefly about other subjects, measure only the number of column inches dealing with the candidate.

2. Where news columns are printed in extra-wide columns, increase the column inch figure so as to account for the additional space.

3. Measure relevant news text to the nearest column inch. However, mention of a candidate automatically gives him space measurement equivalent to a minimum of one column inch.

Direction:

1. When a headline or a column inch is both favorable to one candidate and unfavorable to his opponent, make

a judgment as to which is predominant.

2. When a headline or a column inch is both neutral to one candidate and favorable or unfavorable to his opponent, classify it to the latter candidate.

3. Consider a prediction of election victory to be a pro-candidate statement. This includes reports from pollsters. If the prediction is of a neutral nature, classify it as neutral.

4. When headlines or column inches of news text are generated as a result of news emanating from the referent or a member of his party as a source, classify them as favorable to the referent, unless the statements of the reporter have a decidedly unfavorable flavor.

5. Classify headlines and column inches of news text which strictly concern the candidate with respect to his functions in a present political office as neutral.

6. Classify headlines and column inches of news text covering the administrative movements of a candidate as favorable to the candidate.

7. Classify items as neutral when judgments cannot be made as to whether the action reported would be favorable or unfavorable to the referent.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1]Douglas C. Kelley, "Press Coverage of Two Michigan Congressional Elections," Journalism Quarterly, 35:447 (Fall 1958).

[2]Chilton R. Bush, "The Analysis of Political Campaign News," Journalism Quarterly, 28:252 (Spring 1951).

[3]William L. Rivers, The Opinionmakers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 54.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter will analyze the data collected and then evaluate the eight Wisconsin newspapers' performances as compared to the "prestige press" in Guido Stempel III's studies of 1960[1] and 1964.[2]

Column Inch Coverage

The Republican Party consistently received more coverage on both the front and inside pages in 1956; the only exception was coverage by the Sheboygan Press which gave Stevenson greater page one coverage than the Republican candidate (see Table 1); this was, of course, the only paper of the eight that supported Stevenson.

Worthy of note is the one-sided coverage of the Daily Jefferson County Union and the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern. Their editorially supported candidate, Eisenhower, received more than twice the column inch coverage received by his Democratic rival (Union--Dem. 37, Repub. 81; Northwestern--Dem. 203, Repub. 423).

In 1964 the Democrats (i.e., Lyndon B. Johnson) had a slight edge in space for the eight newspapers as a whole, as shown in Table 2. However, this edge amounted to less

TABLE 1

COLUMN INCHES DEVOTED BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS TO COVERAGE OF THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER 1-NOVEMBER 5
(D-Democrat; R-Republican; B-Bipartisan)

	Page One			Inside			Total		
	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B
Daily Jefferson County Union	32	68	--	5	13	--	37	81	--
Green Bay Press-Gazette	62	96	1	145	169	126	207	265	127
Janesville Daily Gazette	86	88	--	100	120	114	186	208	114
LaCrosse Tribune	102	177	7	193	209	66	295	386	73
Marshfield News-Herald	130	140	8	137	155	84	267	295	92
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	11	126	--	192	297	14	203	423	14
Wausau Record-Herald	106	125	24	196	255	75	302	380	99
Sub-Totals	529	820	40	968	1,218	479	1,497	2,038	519
Sheboygan Press	116	77	13	178	205	93	294	282	106
Totals	645	897	53	1,146	1,423	572	1,791	2,320	625

TABLE 2

COLUMN INCHES DEVOTED BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS TO COVERAGE OF THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER 3-NOVEMBER 2
(D-Democrat; R-Republican; B-Bipartisan)

	Page One			Inside			Total		
	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	83	91	8	27	28	7	110	119	15
Green Bay Press-Gazette	120	145	--	380	309	155	500	454	155
Janesville Daily Gazette*	127	124	1	115	110	159	242	234	160
LaCrosse Tribune*	108	110	24	205	212	104	313	322	128
Marshfield News-Herald	208	174	16	261	199	155	469	373	215
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	134	141	--	247	261	166	381	402	166
Wausau Record-Herald*	104	146	3	188	181	197	292	327	200
Sub-Totals	884	831	52	1,423	1,300	943	2,307	2,231	1,039
Sheboygan Press	156	109	36	245	277	268	401	386	304
Totals	1,040	1,040	88	1,668	1,577	1,211	2,708	2,617	1,343

*These newspapers have a nine-column page. To make figures comparable to those papers with eight columns, I have multiplied the original column inch figures for these newspapers by 8/9 or .889.

than one per cent (.8%) of the total coverage. The front page coverage was even, to the inch. The total coverage shows that four of the eight newspapers gave the Democrats more coverage in this campaign; the Democratic Sheboygan Press was one of these, but it only provided its editorially supported candidate a 15-inch advantage.

The amount of coverage in 1964 was about 42% more than in 1956 (31% more, if stories deemed bipartisan are excluded). This large percentage variance, perhaps, reflects a greater awareness on the part of the newspapers studied of the need to inform their readers more fully about presidential candidates during political campaigns. It may also be due to generally expanded coverage of all kinds, since these papers were growing in circulation during 1956-64.

1956-64 Shifts in Percentage of Coverage

The percentage figures of news space allocation overall showed that the majority of newspapers in 1956 (see Table 3) were within seven per cent of absolute balanced coverage--50-50 split. The Sheboygan Press presented the most nearly balanced coverage when it gave 51% of its space to the Democrats and 49% to the Republicans. The imbalance of political news coverage by the Daily Jefferson County Union (31.3% Dem.-68.7% Repub.) and the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern (32.4% Dem.-67.6% Repub.) reflects either a

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN SPACE IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN EACH OF FIVE TIME PERIODS DURING THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

	Sept. 1-Sept. 14		Sept. 15-Sept. 27		Sept. 28-Oct. 10		Oct. 11-Oct. 23		Oct. 24-Nov. 5		Total		Total Col.In.
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	
Daily Jefferson County Union	4.2%	2.6%	5.9%	20.3%	9.3%	2.6%	8.5%	4.2%	3.4%	39.0%	31.3%	68.7%	118
Green Bay Press Gazette	11.9	10.8	9.1	12.7	7.6	7.0	8.1	15.9	7.2	9.7	43.9	56.1	472
Janesville Daily Gazette	6.3	4.6	3.3	6.9	10.4	5.3	10.2	19.8	17.0	16.2	47.2	52.8	394
LaCrosse Tribune	7.3	3.5	9.5	14.5	8.8	5.1	8.2	15.2	9.5	18.4	43.3	56.7	681
Marshfield News-Herald	9.3	1.4	8.5	7.3	11.7	6.3	12.1	15.1	5.9	22.4	47.5	52.5	562
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	2.2	3.4	6.5	13.6	10.4	10.1	6.3	16.1	7.0	24.4	32.4	67.6	626
Wausau Record-Herald	7.8	9.2	5.6	12.2	8.1	4.0	11.9	14.3	10.9	16.0	44.3	55.7	682
Sheboygan Press	9.4	3.8	8.5	9.4	13.1	8.7	12.0	11.1	8.0	16.0	51.0	49.0	576

Note: These percentage figures are derived by dividing the total number of column inches shown in the extreme right hand column of this table into the column inches of space a candidate received on the three days sampled during each of the above time periods.

deliberately introduced editorial bias in the paper's news columns or a warped sense of political news judgment on the part of the newspapers' editors and/or publishers.

In 1964 the paper most favorable to the Democrats was the Marshfield News-Herald with 55.6% for the Democrats and 44.4% for the Republicans (see Table 4). This paper was also the furthest from balanced coverage--a mere 5.6%.

The paper most favorable to the Republicans was the Wausau Record-Herald, with 52.9% of its space for the Republican candidate and 47.1% for the Democrat. The LaCrosse Tribune, with a pro-Republican 50.8 to 49.2 split, provided the most nearly balanced coverage of the eight newspapers for 1964.

A look at newspapers individually shows a marked difference in coverage between 1956 and 1964 in most newspapers. Six of the papers moved closer to a 50-50 ratio in news coverage. The most notable shifts in 1964 were the Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union (16.7% shift), the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern (16.3% shift), and the Green Bay Press-Gazette (8.6% shift). Of course, in terms of approaching balanced coverage, the first two of these papers had more room for improvement than the others.

The Sheboygan Press provided exactly the same coverage in both campaigns--51% pro-Democrat and 49% pro-Republican.

The Marshfield News-Herald was the only paper of the

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN SPACE IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN EACH OF FIVE TIME PERIODS DURING THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

	Sept. 3-Sept. 15		Sept. 16-Sept. 27		Sept. 28-Oct. 9		Oct. 10-Oct. 21		Oct. 22-Nov. 2		Total		Total Col.In.
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	14.8%	17.0%	7.4%	14.4%	8.7%	12.3%	14.0%	3.5%	3.1%	4.8%	48.0%	52.0%	229
Green Bay Press Gazette	10.2	7.5	7.7	11.3	12.4	11.5	13.0	8.8	9.2	8.4	52.5	47.5	954
Janesville Daily Gazette*	9.3	6.3	9.0	11.9	8.0	8.6	10.1	6.3	14.4	10.6	50.8	49.2	477
LaCrosse Tribune*	8.7	5.5	9.5	9.9	7.0	12.2	12.0	8.0	12.0	15.2	49.2	50.8	636
Marshfield News-Herald	10.1	8.6	6.7	8.9	9.0	10.7	16.9	7.5	12.9	8.7	55.6	44.4	842
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	4.5	10.0	8.7	8.8	12.4	12.5	9.6	8.0	13.5	12.0	48.7	51.3	783
Wausau Record-Herald*	8.5	12.4	7.9	13.8	8.3	13.2	12.2	7.3	10.2	6.2	47.1	52.9	619
Sheboygan Press	8.9	8.4	5.2	16.1	9.8	7.5	14.6	9.5	12.5	7.5	51.0	49.0	787

*These newspapers have a nine-column page. To make totals comparable to those of papers with eight columns, I have multiplied the original total column inches for these papers by 8/9 or .889.

Note: These percentage figures are derived by dividing the total number of column inches shown in the extreme right hand column of this table (except for the three starred papers where the unadjusted figure was used) into the column inches of space a candidate received on the three days sampled during each of the above time periods.

eight to move from nearly balanced coverage in 1956 (47.5% Dem.-52.5% Repub.) toward more one-sided coverage in 1964 (55.6% Dem.-44.4% Repub.). The shift of 8.1% was away from the News-Herald's editorially endorsed candidate, Goldwater, and 3.1% away from a 50-50 split.

The data in the 1956 campaign would support a hypothesis that editorial preference results in news preference; all eight papers gave their editorially endorsed candidates more news coverage than his opponent. This same hypothesis is not substantiated in the 1964 campaign, because three newspapers (Green Bay's, Marshfield's, and Janesville's) all gave their endorsed candidate's opponent greater coverage.

Variations in Coverage During the Five Time Periods

Table 3 reveals that the Democrats in the 1956 campaign had an advantage in the first time period. President Eisenhower didn't start his campaigning until September 13 and Stevenson had been campaigning actively since he received the Democratic nomination in August. The Republican presidential candidate, actively campaigning during the second time period, dominated the news. Stevenson was the more newsworthy in all eight papers during the middle time period. The start of this time period was when the President "took a relaxed view" and was campaigning very little.[3] During the last two periods

Eisenhower was predominant in the news. He was campaigning harder and also during the last period the Suez Crisis resulted in more administrative news concerning the President.

Table 3 shows that the Republican candidate, in all papers but the Green Bay Press-Gazette, received more news coverage during the last two time periods than in the other three combined. This trend is not true for Stevenson. His largest percentage of news exposure was in the first three periods, except for two newspapers. In the Janesville Daily Gazette, Stevenson was covered more during the latter part of the campaign.

In looking at the variations of coverage through the 1964 campaign, the Republican's strongest time periods were the second and third (see Table 4). The Democratic candidate had slightly more coverage in the first period than his opponent. Campaign coverage of President Johnson completely dominated the period beginning October 10, with all eight newspapers giving the Democrats more space. The last period was also predominantly Democratic.

Headline Distribution

It would seem feasible that the proportion of headlines for each political side would be virtually the same as the proportion of space for each side. Generally, this is so.

In 1956 the Daily Jefferson County Union and the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern did follow their prior pattern and heavily favored Eisenhower in headline distribution (see Table 5). The Green Bay Press-Gazette, LaCrosse Tribune, and the Wausau Record-Herald led their news columns with nearly balanced headlines for each party. But the Marshfield News-Herald and Sheboygan Press reversed themselves. They provided the candidate they opposed, editorially, more headlines, yet less space in their news columns.

The Janesville Daily Gazette had the greatest percentage difference between its headline distribution (34% Dem.-66% Repub.) and its news coverage (43.9% Dem.-56.1% Repub.). This difference of about 10% (43.9% minus 34%) favors the paper's editorially endorsed candidate.

Table 6, likewise, displays the balanced emphasis in the 1964 campaign by these eight newspapers. The percentage difference in the amount of headlines for the two presidential candidates was only .8% of the total number with Goldwater receiving the greater quantity.

Only two newspapers--the Marshfield News-Herald and the Wausau Record-Herald--gave one candidate more news coverage and then gave the other candidate more headlines. The Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union had the greatest percentage difference between its headline

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF HEADLINES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 1956 CAMPAIGN
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; B-Bipartisan)

	Streamer			Spread			Two-Column			Major One-Column			Minor One-Column			Total		
	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B
Daily Jefferson County Union					1			1					2	5	1	2	7	1
Green Bay Press-Gazette				1	2		4	2		8	6	1	6	14	1	19	24	2
Janesville Daily Gazette				1	3	1	3	13					13	17		17	33	1
LaCrosse Tribune				2	3	1		9	1	4	2		23	18	1	29	32	3
Marshfield News-Herald					1		3	8		17	10		7	7	1	27	26	1
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern					1		2	12		1	3		18	42	2	21	58	2
Wausau Record-Herald				1	1		10	13		5	5	1	7	12		23	31	1
Sub-Totals				5	12	2	22	58	1	35	26	2	76	115	6	138	211	11
Sheboygan Press				2	4		11	18	1				14	15	1	27	37	2
Totals				7	16	2	33	76	2	35	26	2	90	130	7	165	248	13

Note: These figures are the simple arithmetic totals of headlines that were classified Democratic, Republican, or Bipartisan that appeared in the 15 newspaper editions surveyed in the 1956 campaign.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF HEADLINES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 1964 CAMPAIGN
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; B-Bipartisan)

	Streamer			Spread			Two-Column			Major One-Column			Minor One-Column			Total		
	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B	D	R	B
Fort-Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union		1		1	1			2	1				11	14	1	12	18	2
Green Bay Press-Gazette				12	10	2	14	10	2	7	5	2	19	19		52	44	6
Janesville Daily Gazette				10	11	2	7	6		1	1		16	15		34	33	2
LaCrosse Tribune				2	8		13	12	3	7	1		8	13		30	34	3
Marshfield News-Herald				5	2		13	12		10	17	2	13	11		41	42	2
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern				10	7	2	5	15	1	19	16		15	18		49	56	3
Wausau Record-Herald				6	4		16	11	1	11	11	1	7	10	1	40	36	3
Sub-Totals	0	1	0	46	43	6	68	68	8	55	51	5	89	100	2	258	263	21
Sheboygan Press				10	10	1	15	12		1			17	21	1	43	43	2
Totals	0	1	0	56	53	7	83	80	8	56	51	5	106	121	3	301	306	23

Note: These figures are the simple arithmetic totals of headlines that were classified Democratic, Republican, or Bipartisan that appeared in the 15 newspaper editions surveyed in the 1964 campaign.

distribution (40% Dem.-60% Repub.) and its news coverage (48%-52%). This difference of eight per cent favors the paper's editorially endorsed candidate.

Headline distribution in the 1956 campaign was similar to the news coverage in that race--lopsided. The Republican heads numbered almost 50% more than the Democrats (248-165). In contrast, headlines in 1964 were almost balanced (301-306), with the Republican candidate getting the edge.

Direction of Coverage and Headlines

Table 7 reveals that the eight Wisconsin newspapers in 1956 consistently gave the candidates they supported editorially a greater percentage of favorable news coverage than his opponent. And the newspapers also gave their candidate's opponent a higher percentage of unfavorable news than their candidate. Note the wide variation between the Sheboygan Press, which editorially backed Stevenson, and all the other newspapers on the chart that supported the Republican candidate.

Generally, the foregoing is true of headlines, as shown in Table 8. An editorial endorsement meant a larger percentage of favorable headlines for the man supported and a smaller percentage of unfavorable heads than his opponent. Note that the Marshfield News-Herald provided almost perfectly direction-balanced headlines for the two candidates.

TABLE 7

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE* BY PERCENTAGE IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1956 CAMPAIGN, BY PARTY

	Democratic			Republican		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Daily Jefferson County Union	56.8%	13.5%	29.7%	84.2%	6.6%	9.2%
Green Bay Press-Gazette	73.4	14.5	12.1	75.1	6.2	18.7
Janesville Daily Gazette	66.1	15.1	18.8	74.5	9.4	16.1
LaCrosse Tribune	75.6	18.6	5.8	86.6	6.0	7.4
Marshfield News-Herald	71.2	16.8	12.0	78.3	15.8	5.9
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	71.9	13.8	14.3	74.8	11.8	13.4
Wausau Record-Herald	76.5	11.6	11.9	88.6	7.6	3.8
Sheboygan Press	81.6	15.3	3.1	55.3	30.1	14.6

*Data exclude administrative coverage.

Note: These figures are derived by dividing the total column inches of coverage of a candidate obtained from the 15 newspaper editions surveyed into each of the column inch totals of the three direction categories (favorable, unfavorable, neutral).

TABLE 8

DIRECTION OF HEADLINES* BY PERCENTAGE IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1956 CAMPAIGN, BY PARTY

	Democratic			Republican		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Daily Jefferson County Union	50.0%	--	50.0%	85.7%	--	14.3%
Green Bay Press-Gazette	42.1	15.8	42.1	69.6	4.3	26.1
Janesville Daily Gazette	47.1	35.3	17.6	58.6	10.3	31.1
LaCrosse Tribune	37.9	13.8	48.3	51.7	3.5	44.8
Marshfield News-Herald	55.6	14.8	29.6	52.4	14.3	33.3
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	9.5	9.5	81.0	35.4	4.2	60.4
Wausau Record-Herald	47.8	8.7	43.5	53.3	13.4	33.3
Sheboygan Press	48.1	7.4	44.5	29.7	29.7	40.6

*Data exclude administrative headlines.

Note: These figures are derived by dividing the total number of headlines that were classified Democratic or Republican into each of the headline totals of the three direction categories (favorable, unfavorable, neutral).

In 1964 five of the seven newspapers that editorially supported Goldwater gave him a greater percentage of favorable coverage and headlines than his Democratic opponent (see Tables 9 and 10). The two exceptions are shown in Table 10. The Green Bay Press-Gazette gave President Johnson 15% unfavorable headlines and Goldwater 20.5%. The LaCrosse Tribune gave Johnson 59.1% favorable headlines and gave Goldwater only 40.5%.

As shown in Tables 9 and 10, the Sheboygan Press departed from the norm by favoring their editorially endorsed candidate's opponent with more favorable news coverage. Goldwater received 69.9% favorable coverage, while Johnson had 60.3%. Furthermore, the Democratic candidate had more unfavorable coverage (14.5%) than Goldwater (8.1%) in the Press. This same departure from the usual is noted in Table 10 where the Republican candidate had a greater percentage of favorable headlines (44.2 to 41) than his Democratic opponent.

Seven of these eight Wisconsin newspapers in the 1956 campaign gave their editorially supported candidate more favorable news coverage and headlines than his opponent. The non-conformist was the Marshfield News-Herald, which gave Stevenson 55.6% favorable headlines to Eisenhower's 52.4%.

In 1964, however, only five of the eight newspapers gave their editorially supported candidate more favorable

TABLE 9

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE BY PERCENTAGE IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1964 CAMPAIGN, BY PARTY

	Democratic			Republican		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	58.3%	27.8%	13.9%	66.7%	3.4%	29.9%
Green Bay Press-Gazette	55.7	20.9	23.4	68.6	11.9	19.5
Janesville Daily Gazette	38.2	35.6	26.2	76.4	10.3	13.3
LaCrosse Tribune	69.3	22.9	7.8	77.6	8.3	14.1
Marshfield News-Herald	50.9	38.1	11.0	76.9	11.3	11.8
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	45.9	34.0	20.1	70.1	10.7	19.2
Wausau Record-Herald	54.9	21.8	23.3	74.9	10.7	14.4
Sheboygan Press	60.3	14.5	25.2	69.9	8.1	22.0

Note: These figures are derived by dividing the total column inches of coverage of a candidate obtained from the 15 newspaper editions surveyed into each of the column inch totals of the three direction categories (favorable, unfavorable, neutral).

TABLE 10

DIRECTION OF HEADLINES BY PERCENTAGE IN EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1964 CAMPAIGN, BY PARTY

	Democratic			Republican		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	25.0%	12.5%	62.5%	35.3%	--	64.7%
Green Bay Press-Gazette	42.5	15.0	42.5	45.5	20.5	34.0
Janesville Daily Gazette	25.8	25.8	48.4	53.0	9.5	37.5
LaCrosse Tribune	59.1	18.2	22.7	40.5	13.5	46.0
Marshfield News-Herald	41.7	16.7	41.6	43.9	12.2	43.9
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	41.5	17.0	41.5	66.1	14.3	19.6
Wausau Record-Herald	20.0	20.0	60.0	62.2	8.1	29.7
Sheboygan Press	41.0	10.3	48.7	44.2	16.3	39.5

Note: These figures are derived by dividing the total number of headlines that were classified Democratic or Republican into each of the headline totals of the three direction categories (favorable, unfavorable, neutral).

coverage and headlines than his opponent.

Significant Event Coverage

Tables 11 and 12 show that the 1956 campaign coverage by these Wisconsin newspapers was generally complete. Out of a possible score of twenty only two newspapers had less than ten points. The Daily Jefferson County Union provided the most inadequate coverage of this campaign. And it appears that the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern reflected its editorial policy in its news columns. Democratic news was continually buried (see Table 11), while Republican events continually made front page news.

The four newspapers that gave the least adequate coverage in the 1964 campaign were the Fort Atkinson, Green Bay, Janesville, and LaCrosse newspapers. All scored less than half of the possible 40 points obtainable for perfect coverage.

Comparison of coverage of significant events (Tables 11, 12 and 13, 14) revealed that the eight newspapers covered the 1956 campaign events checked more fully than the significant events of the 1964 race. The average scores for the 1956 Democratic and Republican event coverage were 15.0 and 18.25, respectively. In contrast, in 1964 the average event scores were down to 11.63 for Democratic significant events and only 9.75 for Republican

TABLE 11

COVERAGE OF SIGNIFICANT DEMOCRATIC EVENTS* BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Score**
Daily Jefferson County Union	x	x	x	1	x	1	x	x	1	1	8
Green Bay Press-Gazette	x	1	1	10	1	1	x	2	1	1	14
Janesville Daily Gazette	x	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	17
LaCrosse Tribune	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x	17
Marshfield News-Herald	1	1	18	1	1	1	9	1	1	1	18
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	8	1	10	10	3	3	x	x	22	9	9
Wausau Record-Herald	13	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	18
Sheboygan Press	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19
Average Score											15.0

*Events described in Appendix A.

**The score is computed by assigning 2 points for page one coverage, 1 point for inside page coverage, and 0 points if the event is not covered.

Note: X indicates event not covered; numerals indicate page on which event appeared.

TABLE 12

COVERAGE OF SIGNIFICANT REPUBLICAN EVENTS* BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Score**
Daily Jefferson County Union	8	1	1	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	17
Green Bay Press-Gazette	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	17
Janesville Daily Gazette	1	1	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	1	18
LaCrosse Tribune	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19
Marshfield News-Herald	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	1	1	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	2	17
Wausau Record-Herald	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20
Sheboygan Press	1	1	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	1	18
Average Score											18.25

*Events described in Appendix B.

**The score is computed by assigning 2 points for page one coverage, 1 point for inside page coverage, and 0 points if the event is not covered.

Note: X indicates event not covered; numerals indicate page on which event appeared.

TABLE 13

COVERAGE OF SIGNIFICANT DEMOCRATIC EVENTS* BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Score**
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	8
Green Bay Press-Gazette	1	18	1	8	1	6	x	x	1	1	13
Janesville Daily Gazette	17	1	1	x	x	1	x	12	x	x	8
LaCrosse Tribune	2	1	6	1	1	x	x	2	x	x	9
Marshfield News-Herald	1	1	1	1	14	1	1	1	9	x	16
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	1	1	1	11	18	1	10	1	14	x	14
Wausau Record-Herald	15	1	1	1	x	x	x	1	23	1	12
Sheboygan Press	23	1	1	1	x	1	x	1	10	15	13
Average Score											11.63

*Events described in Appendix C.

**The score is computed by assigning 2 points for page one coverage, 1 point for inside page coverage, and 0 points if the event is not covered.

Note: X indicates event not covered; numerals indicate page on which event appeared.

TABLE 14

COVERAGE OF SIGNIFICANT REPUBLICAN EVENTS* BY EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Score**
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	4
Green Bay Press-Gazette	1	x	x	12	11	24	x	x	x	2	6
Janesville Daily-Gazette	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2	1	5
LaCrosse Tribune	1	2	1	x	x	x	1	x	3	1	10
Marshfield News-Herald	1	10	x	10	1	14	1	8	1	1	14
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	1	x	1	14	x	1	1	10	1	1	14
Wausau Record-Herald	1	x	27	1	x	12	1	8	1	1	13
Sheboygan Press	1	10	1	10	x	8	10	x	1	1	12
Average Score											9.75

*Events described in Appendix D.

**The score is computed by assigning 2 points for page one coverage, 1 point for inside page coverage, and 0 points if the event is not covered.

Note: X indicates event not covered; numerals indicate page on which event appeared.

events.

The reason for this difference in coverage may be explained by greater electronic media coverage of the events chosen for the 1956 campaign. In 1956 five of the Democratic and five of the Republican speeches were televised. But in 1964 only one speech of each party's candidate was televised. This suggests that the ten "significant" 1956 events were more newsworthy than those selected for 1964.

Administrative and Non-Administrative Coverage

One of the purposes of this thesis is to compare the 1956 and 1964 campaign coverage without the "administrative" events that accrue to an incumbent President by virtue of his office.

These campaigns were selected for study, because in both instances incumbents were seeking reelection. Furthermore, the incumbents were from different parties.

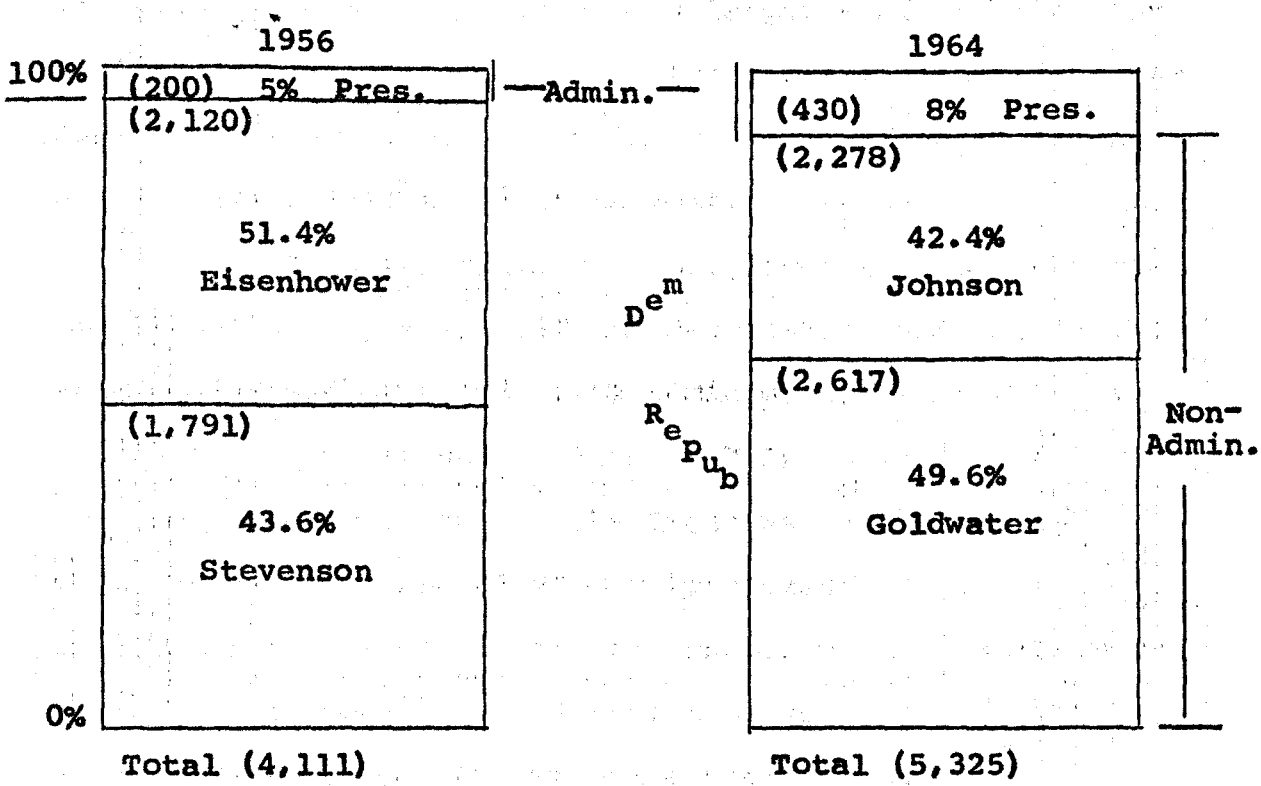
Table 15 shows that Eisenhower bested his Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, in news coverage 56.4% to 43.6%.

In total coverage, President Johnson came out ahead of Barry Goldwater 50.4% to 49.6%.

In the seven newspapers that endorsed the Republican candidates, President Eisenhower received less administrative coverage (5.4%) during the 1956 campaign than President Johnson (8.2%) in 1964. (These percentages are based on the total column inches of campaign coverage less

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND NON-ADMINISTRATIVE COVERAGE FOR THE 1956 AND 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS



Non-Admin. Coverage:

Eisenhower	54.1%
Goldwater	53.9%

Note: Figures in parentheses are column inches of coverage.

bipartisan news.)

The figures reveal that the Republican candidates for President (Eisenhower and Goldwater) during these two campaigns consistently received a larger share of the non-administrative news coverage by these seven Wisconsin newspapers; Eisenhower had 55.2% in 1956 and Goldwater received only slightly less at 53.6% in 1964.

The Sheboygan Press--the only newspaper of the eight that consistently supported the Democratic candidate--gave President Eisenhower only 2.8% administrative coverage in 1956 and it gave President Johnson 7.1% in 1964. Non-administrative coverage in the Press was 52.5% for Adlai Stevenson in 1956 and 47.2% for President Johnson in 1964. This newspaper provided both incumbents with less administrative news coverage in 1964 (Eisenhower 5.4% - 2.8% = 2.6%; Johnson 8.2% - 7.1% = 1.1%) than the other seven papers. And it also provided both Democratic candidates with more non-administrative coverage.

This suggests that the apparently "fairer" more balanced 1964 coverage by a predominantly Republican group of papers was at base no fairer than in 1956. Goldwater's campaign, like Ike's, was over-reported. Johnson, by making some news simply as President, managed to enjoy a slight edge in total publicity in 1964.

Comparison of the Stempel Studies With This Study

Guido H. Stempel III researched the 1960[4] and 1964[5] presidential campaigns. He studied the same 15 newspapers in both campaigns and called them the "prestige press." These newspapers had been singled out in a 1960 poll of editors as "most superior for news coverage, integrity and public service."[6]

They are, in the order the editors picked them, the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Milwaukee Journal, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Washington Post, the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Wall Street Journal, the Atlantic Constitution, the Chicago Tribune, the Des Moines Register, the Kansas City Star, the Baltimore Sun, the Miami Herald, the Chicago Daily News, and the Los Angeles Times.

The research method used in the first part of this study was exactly the same as used by Stempel. Stempel did not investigate direction, completeness of coverage or the administrative and non-administrative coverage. Thus, in comparing these eight Wisconsin newspapers with Stempel's "prestige press" only column inch coverage and headline distribution will be considered.

Considering the "prestige press" as a whole, it is noted that the Republican candidates in both campaigns received more front page coverage. And the Democrats had the edge on the inside pages and more total coverage (as

shown in Table 16). In the 1956 campaign, the Wisconsin papers gave the Republican candidates more coverage across the board with almost a 13% total news coverage advantage. In 1964 the Page One coverage was perfectly balanced and the Democrats had less than a 3% edge on the inside pages.

In Stempel's 1960 study neither Nixon nor Kennedy was an incumbent. The result was balanced coverage by the "prestige press." But in 1964, President Johnson was running for reelection and he received 3.8% more coverage than Goldwater in the "prestige press." This may have been due to administrative coverage, as found in the eight Wisconsin papers.

Now in the 1956 campaign, Eisenhower, the incumbent, had a 13% advantage in the eight Wisconsin papers' news coverage. Yet only 5% of that 13% was administrative news coverage (as determined earlier in this study, Table 15). The 8% difference in favor of the Republican candidate can be classified as either the newsworthiness of Eisenhower or the favoritism or bias of these eight newspapers as a group.

In the 1964 campaign when the Democratic incumbent was running for reelection, there was extremely balanced coverage in these eight Wisconsin papers. President Johnson received more coverage in the Wisconsin newspapers than Goldwater--1.7% more. Table 15 reflects that President Johnson actually had 8% administrative coverage in 1964. If his administrative coverage, the 8%, is subtracted from

TABLE 16

TOTAL COLUMN INCHES OF SPACE DEVOTED TO COVERAGE OF THE 1960 AND 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS BY THE "PRESTIGE PRESS" AND BY THE EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1956 AND 1964 CAMPAIGNS

	Page One		Inside		Total	
	D	R	D	R	D	R
Totals, 1960	6,842	7,053	44,018	43,489	50,860	50,542
Totals, 1964	6,662	7,022	48,844	39,823	50,506	46,845
	Eight Wisconsin Newspapers					
Totals, 1956	645	897	1,146	1,423	1,791	2,320
Totals, 1964	1,040	1,040	1,668	1,577	2,708	2,617

Note: These data were extracted from Stempel's two studies and this thesis.

his total coverage (50.4% as shown in Table 15) to determine his non-administrative coverage, then Lyndon Baines Johnson actually received only 42.4% coverage as compared with 49.6% for Barry Goldwater.

The only conclusion that can be drawn is that seven of these eight Wisconsin newspapers have knowingly or unknowingly allowed their news columns to continually favor their editorially endorsed candidate with more campaign coverage.

In 1960 only three of the "prestige press" were more than 5% away from a 50-50 split--the Atlantic Constitution on the Democratic side and the Christian Science Monitor and Chicago Tribune on the Republican side (see Table 17). In 1964 the Chicago Tribune remained in such a category on the Republican side, joined by the Miami Herald, the Louisville Courier-Journal, and the New York Times on the Democratic side.

Five of the Wisconsin newspapers in 1956 (as shown in Table 18) were more than 5% away from balanced coverage. But the 1964 campaign brought about a remarkable shift to more balanced coverage. Only one newspaper--the Marshfield News-Herald--was more than 5% away from a 50-50 split and it only missed by .6%.

Equality or near equality (5% variance from a 50-50 split) was a prevailing feature with the "prestige press" and it appears that the majority of Wisconsin newspapers in this study failed to meet this in 1956; however, in 1964

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE OF SPACE IN THE "PRESTIGE PRESS" RECEIVED BY THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES DURING THE 1960 AND 1964 CAMPAIGNS

	1960		1964	
	D	R	D	R
Atlantic Constitution	60.2*	39.8	53.0*	47.0
Baltimore Sun	52.8	47.2*	52.2*	47.8
Chicago Daily News	48.4	51.6*	53.9*	46.1
Chicago Tribune	40.8	59.2*	34.4	65.6*
Christian Science Monitor	41.5	58.5*	48.9	51.1**
Des Moines Register	45.8	54.2*	50.5*	49.5
Kansas City Star	52.2	47.8*	54.4*	45.6
Los Angeles Times	45.2	54.8*	49.9	50.1*
Louisville Courier-Journal	54.5*	45.5	57.8*	42.2
Miami Herald	51.3	48.7*	59.4*	40.6
Milwaukee Journal	54.4*	45.6	51.0*	49.0
New York Times	50.3*	49.7	57.0*	43.0
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	54.6*	45.4	52.0*	48.0
Wall Street Journal	47.2	52.8*	45.2	54.8***
Washington Post	51.9	48.1**	53.5	46.5***
Average	50.2	49.8	51.9	48.1

*Indicates the newspaper's editorial endorsement.

**Indicates no endorsement (neutral).

***Indicates no editorial endorsement per se, but a definite leaning toward the party's candidate based on editorial statements.

Note: These data extracted from Stempel's two studies.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE OF SPACE IN THE EIGHT WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED BY THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES DURING THE 1956 AND 1964 CAMPAIGNS

	1956		1964	
	D	R	D	R
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Daily Union	31.3	68.7*	48.0	52.0*
Green Bay Press-Gazette	43.9	56.1*	52.5	47.5*
Janesville Daily Gazette	47.2	52.8*	50.8	49.2*
LaCrosse Tribune	43.3	56.7*	49.2	50.8*
Marshfield News-Herald	47.5	52.5*	55.6	44.4*
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	32.4	67.6*	48.7	51.3*
Wausau Record-Herald	44.3	55.7*	47.1	52.9*
Sheboygan Press	51.0*	49.0	51.0*	49.0
Average	42.6	57.4	50.4	49.6

*Indicates the newspaper's editorial endorsement.

their record was near perfect and superior (if news coverage equality is a gauge) to the performance of the "prestige press."

The seven "prestige press" papers (three in 1960 and four in 1964), which gave one candidate more than 10% more coverage than his opponent, always favored the candidate they had editorially endorsed. This is also true of the five Wisconsin papers in 1956. The only exception to this pattern occurred in 1964 when the Marshfield News-Herald gave President Johnson 11.2% more coverage than its editorially endorsed candidate Goldwater.

Eleven out of 14 "prestige press" that editorially endorsed a candidate in 1960 favored their candidate with more news coverage. In 1964 all of the "prestige press," except the Christian Science Monitor which was neutral, gave their editorially supported candidate more news coverage than his opponent.

In the 1956 campaign, all eight Wisconsin papers gave their endorsed candidate more coverage. While in the 1964 race, three of these papers gave their endorsed candidate's opponent more coverage.

In Stempel's studies, headline distribution so closely approximated the space distribution in both campaigns that comparison of display would indicate nearly the same thing as the comparison of space allocation. Generally, this is true of the Wisconsin press studied, so

detailed comparisons will not be included here.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1]Guido H. Stempel III, "The Prestige Press Covers the 1960 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, 38:157 (Spring 1961).

[2]_____, "The Prestige Press In Two Presidential Elections," Journalism Quarterly, 42:15 (Winter 1965).

[3]New York Times, Sept. 28, 1956, p. 1.

[4]Stempel, "Prestige," loc. cit.

[5]Stempel, "Prestige Two," loc. cit.

[6]"Nation's Editors Pick 15 'Superior' Papers," Editor & Publisher, 93:12 (April 2, 1960).

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined by content analysis the news coverage of the 1956 and 1964 presidential campaigns by eight Wisconsin newspapers. Its purpose, as outlined earlier, is to provide a descriptive analysis of the two campaigns and then to evaluate the performance of these eight papers by comparing their coverage with that of the "prestige press."

With the foregoing accomplished, certain conclusions can be drawn.

Performance of the Eight Wisconsin Newspapers

The performance of the eight Wisconsin newspapers, as a whole, in reporting presidential campaign news seems to have improved. They provided more balanced news coverage in 1964 than in the 1956 campaign.

The more balanced coverage in 1964 compares favorably with the 1960 and 1964 performances of the "prestige press," the papers rated as "most superior for news coverage, integrity and public service."

Individual performances of the eight Wisconsin papers in 1964, as compared with 1956, showed marked

improvement. In 1956 the Jefferson County Daily Union and the Oshkosh Northwestern provided such unbalanced campaign news coverage, compared with the six other Wisconsin newspapers studied, that their performance cannot legitimately be explained away. These two newspapers allowed, knowingly or unknowingly, their editorial preferences to color their campaign news treatment.

The balanced news coverage by all eight Wisconsin papers in 1964 is phenomenal. No paper deviated as much as 6% from 50-50 coverage. Three of these papers--Green Bay Press-Gazette, Janesville Daily Gazette, and the Marshfield News-Herald--gave their editorially supported candidate's opponent more coverage; this reversal is a heartening sign for those who believe in a clear separation between a newspaper's editorial page and its news columns. In contrast, it is interesting to note that all the "prestige press" in 1964 gave their editorially endorsed candidate greater coverage.

The data on direction (favorable, unfavorable, and neutral) presented in this thesis reveal that these newspapers tended to provide their endorsed candidate more favorable and less unfavorable news coverage than his opponent.

However, in comparing the direction in these two campaigns, the trend is encouraging. Three out of eight newspapers in 1964 varied from the norm of the 1956

election, where with only one exception, newspapers provided more favorable and less unfavorable coverage for their editorially supported candidate.

In comparing significant events, the survey results show that in 1956 the eight newspapers covered the campaign better than they did in 1964. This seems hard to believe in view of the large increase in the amount of space allocated to presidential campaign news in 1964 (42% more) over 1956.

The fact that 50% of the events selected for the 1956 campaign were televised, while only 10% were for 1964, might indicate that the events selected in 1964 were just not as important--less newsworthy--as those picked in 1956.

The eight Wisconsin newspapers provided the presidential incumbents with more total news coverage than their political opponents (Eisenhower 56.4% and Johnson 50.4%).

A comparison of these figures with the "prestige press" proves interesting. In 1960, when both presidential candidates were seeking office for the first time, the "prestige press," overall, presented balanced coverage. However, in 1964 the incumbent, President Johnson, received 3.8% more coverage than Goldwater. This percentage difference seems reasonable. An incumbent President has the advantage of administrative news coverage that is not available to his challenger.

Now when administrative coverage is omitted and the eight Wisconsin papers are compared with the "prestige press," it is clear that the Wisconsin papers, as a whole favored Eisenhower in news coverage and discriminated against President Johnson in quantity of news coverage.

If the administrative and non-administrative coverage are compared, Johnson had more administrative coverage (8% to 5%) than Eisenhower. But Johnson came out on the short end of the non-administrative coverage 42.4% to 51.4%.

Although Johnson received more administrative coverage in 1964 than Eisenhower did in 1956, he only received a .4% edge in total news coverage over his challenger, Barry Goldwater. Eisenhower, on the other hand, had a 6.4% edge in news coverage.

Granted that the overall performance of the eight Wisconsin newspapers in 1964 showed improvement over 1956, the foregoing reveals that these newspapers still need to reevaluate their political reporting news standards prior to the forthcoming presidential election campaigns.

Improved Performance?

Critics of these conclusions might argue that the performance of these eight Wisconsin papers has not improved, even though a surface comparison of the 1956 and 1964 coverage seems to indicate improvement.

They can point to Johnson's administrative coverage and argue that this factor alone overshadowed otherwise

partisan coverage. Or one can say that, although these newspapers endorsed Goldwater, their heart was not really in it; not like in 1956 when Eisenhower was a popular candidate to support. One might also look at the election results in the seven counties where these newspapers that supported Goldwater and Eisenhower were published. The majority of the people in these counties in 1956 voted for Eisenhower, but in 1964, the majority voted for Johnson. Conceivably, the newspapers responded to public opinion and albeit, initially endorsing Goldwater, they saw that their readers were more and more pro-Johnson. So, they--the editors--responded accordingly in their news columns.

This line of argument seems far-fetched; editors probably do not operate so deliberately.

A follow-up study on the 1968 election campaign might provide the answer.

Balanced Coverage--A Goal?

Some people having read this thesis to this point might believe that balanced (column inch equality) coverage is what the author thinks all newspapers should strive for; this, I do not believe.

In 1957, J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of the Washington Post, said:

> The staff of the Post was under instructions to report the 1956 campaign fairly, objectively and according to its best news judgment. It did just that.

> The result we can safely say, was an admirable product, and as far as can be determined, the best campaign election job, we have ever done.
>
> One of the most interesting aspects of the result is confirmation of our belief that campaigns should not be reported by ruler-and-compass methods, but that good news judgment, and lack of bias, operating by themselves, will produce the equality of treatment sought for. We had the library see what the results would be from a tape measure tally, on the papers from September 1 through November 6; findings (for national campaign news only) . . . /news text 51% Repub. and 49% Dem./. They came as close to a 50-50 ratio as anyone could want; had they been any closer, we might have had cause to worry about whether we actually used a ruler instead of honest news judgment.[1]

I agree, wholeheartedly, with Editor Wiggins that balanced coverage should not be the aim in political campaign news reporting; rather, that balanced coverage will be the consequence of fairness, objectivity, and honest news judgment practiced by a newspaper staff.

Future Research

This study was concerned primarily with the non-metropolitan, monopoly newspaper, because as stated earlier, these newspapers have a greater responsibility to their readers than the larger metropolitan papers that have intra-city competition.

However, competitive, metropolitan papers should have some responsibility to their readers. Consider the Chicago Tribune. In 1960 this newspaper gave the Republican candidate 18.4% more coverage than his Democratic opponent. In 1964 this coverage imbalance went up to 34.4% for the incumbent President Johnson and 65.6% for the Republican

candidate Goldwater. How can a newspaper justify (not that they are required to) such a difference in newsworthiness of candidates? Nathan Blumberg once said, "Bias, like love, cannot be measured, but it is not impossible to determine whether it exists."[2] It existed in the campaign news coverage of the Chicago Tribune in 1960 and 1964.

The Tribune, however, is just one of many newspapers, large and small, that needs to practice fairness, objectivity, and honest news judgment in reporting presidential campaigns.

More research is needed in this field of campaign news reporting. Newspapers--large and small, monopoly and non-monopoly, metropolitan and non-metropolitan--should be investigated on a continuing basis.

Having looked at the sophisticated and not-so-sophisticated methods used to evaluate press performance during political campaigns, I strongly believe that future studies should use only one content analysis technique--space measurement.

This thesis revealed, as did Stempel's 1964 study, that headline distribution so closely approximates the space distribution that analysis of these two techniques will indicate nearly the same thing. It is recommended that the extra effort of categorizing headlines be discontinued in future studies, unless the researcher has strong suspicions that the usual correlation will not be found.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1]J. Russell Wiggins, "Election Postscript: The Washington Post Measured Its Campaign Coverage: Found They Came Out Even," Nieman Reports, 11:7 (January 1957).

[2]Nathan R. Blumberg, "Newspaper Bias In the 1952 Presidential Campaign," Nieman Reports, 8:16 (July 1954).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books

Bird, George L. and Merwin, Frederic E. The Press and Society. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951.

Blumberg, Nathan B. One-Party Press? Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1954.

Fergusen, LeRoy C. and Smuckler, Ralph H. Politics In The Press. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1954.

Rivers, William L. The Opinionmakers. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

Rowse, Arthur E. Slanted News. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

Schramm, Wilbur. Responsibility In Mass Communication. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

Siebert, Fred S., Peterson, Theodore and Schramm, Wilbur. Four Theories Of The Press. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956.

Wilmer, Lambert A. Our Press Gang: Or A Complete Exposition Of The Corruption And Crime Of The American Newspapers. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. T. Lloyd, 1859.

B. Other Publications, Unpublished Materials and Periodicals

Barth, Alan. "The Heat Of The Headlines In The Campaign and After," Nieman Reports, Vol. VII (January 1953).

Batlin, Robert. "San Francisco Newspapers' Campaign Coverage: 1896, 1952," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXI (Summer 1954).

Begeman, Jean. "The One Party Press Pays Off," New Republic, Vol. CXXVII (November 17, 1957).

Blackmon, Robert E. "Bias In The 1960 Presidential Election Campaign," Nieman Reports, Vol. XV (October 1961).

Blumberg, Nathan R. "Newspaper Bias In The 1952 Presidential Campaign," Nieman Reports, Vol. VIII (July 1954).

_____. "The Press And Its Ineffective Critics," Nieman Reports, Vol. XV (July 1961).

Bush, Chilton R. "The Analysis Of Political Campaign News," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII (Spring 1951).

Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. "An Outsider Looks At The Press," Nieman Reports, Vol. VII (January 1953).

Childs, Marquis. "What Signs Threaten The Free Press," Nieman Reports, Vol. V (July 1951).

Estabrook, Robert H. "Press Performance In The Campaign," Nieman Reports, Vol. VII (January 1953).

Higbie, Charles E. "Wisconsin Dailies In The 1952 Campaign: Space Vs. Display," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXI (Winter 1954).

Kelley, Douglas C. "Press Coverage Of Two Michigan Congressional Elections," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXV (Fall 1958).

Kelly, Frank K. "Continuing Criticism Of The Press," Nieman Reports, Vol. XV (October 1961).

Klein, Malcolm W. and Maccoby, Nathan. "Newspaper Objectivity In The 1952 Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXI (Summer 1954).

Kobre, Sidney. "How Florida Dailies Handled The 1952 Presidential Election Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXX (Spring 1953).

Lyons, Louis M. "A Free and Responsible Press," Nieman Reports, Vol. I (April 1947).

Merrill, John C. "Who Can--Or Should--Evaluate The Press?" Gazette, Vol. XII (No. 2/3 1966).

Millspaugh, Martin. "Baltimore Newspapers And The Presidential Election," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XIII (Spring 1949).

"Nation's Editors Pick 15 'Superior' Papers," Editor & Publisher, Vol. IC (April 12, 1960).

Nixon, Raymond B. and Ward, Jean. "Trends In Newspaper Ownership And Inter-Media Competition," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXVIII (Winter 1961).

"Page One Display Contradicts Authors On Press Bias," Editor & Publisher, Vol. LXXXV (October 25, 1952).

Pope, James S. "On Understanding The Press," Nieman Reports, Vol. II (April 1948).

Proxmire, William. "Where Democrats Aren't News," Nieman Reports, Vol. VII (January 1953).

Reilly, William R. "Coverage By Four Wisconsin Newspapers Of The 1960 Political Campaign At The Presidential, Gubernatorial, Congressional Levels." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1961.

"Salinger and Klein Urge Study Of Press Fairness," Editor & Publisher, Vol. IC (December 10, 1960).

Schlesinger, Arthur M. "Give The Public A Break!" Nieman Reports, Vol. XIX (September 1965).

Starr, David. "The Quiet Revolution," The Bulletin Of The American Society Of Newspaper Editors, Vol. CCCCIII (April 1, 1963).

Stempel III, Guido H. "The Prestige Press Covers The 1960 Presidential Campaign," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXVIII (Spring 1961).

_____. "The Prestige Press In Two Presidential Elections," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XLII (Winter 1965).

Stene, Edwin O. "Newspapers In The Presidential Campaign," Social Science, Vol. XII (April 1937).

_____. "Newspapers In The Presidential Campaign," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. XXV (March 1945).

Tebbel, John. "Responsibility And Mass Media," Saturday Review, Vol. XLII (February 9, 1963).

Wiggins, J. Russell. "Election Postscript: The Washington Post Measured Its Campaign Coverage: Found They Came Out Even," Nieman Reports, Vol. XI (January 1957).

Zuegner, Charles W. "A Study Of Political News In Two Major Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXIII (Spring 1956).

C. Newspapers

Daily Jefferson County Union	September 1-November 5, 1956.
Fort Atkinson-Jefferson County Union	September 3-November 2, 1964.
Green Bay Press-Gazette	September 1-November 5, 1956 and September 3-November 2, 1964.
Janesville Daily Gazette	September 1-November 5, 1956.
Janesville Gazette	September 3-November 2, 1964.
LaCrosse Tribune	September 1-November 5, 1956 and September 3-November 2, 1964.
Marshfield News-Herald	September 1-November 5, 1956 and September 3-November 2, 1964.
New York Times	September 1-November 5, 1956 and September 3-November 2, 1964.
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern	September 1-November 5, 1956.
Oshkosh Northwestern	September 3-November 2, 1964.
Sheboygan Press	September 1-November 5, 1956 and September 3-November 2, 1964.
Wausau Record-Herald	September 1-November 5, 1956 and September 3-November 2, 1964.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SIGNIFICANT DEMOCRATIC EVENTS IN THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

1. September 10, Cliffside Park, New Jersey--Adlai Stevenson charged that "misconduct and corruption" marked the Republican administration.

2. September 29, Milwaukee, Wisconsin--Stevenson proposed federal programs for education with government aid.

3. October 4, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania--Stevenson said Eisenhower was guilty of "gross misstatements" and generally attacked the administration.

4. October 10, Seattle, Washington--Stevenson said Eisenhower's administration was torpedoing its own world atom-for-peace program. He also charged the President with "undue" and "hazardous" delegation of executive responsibility.

5. October 12, Oakland, California--Stevenson said the U.S. should take the lead to halt hydrogen bomb tests. He charged the administration with irresponsibility and deception in foreign policy.

6. October 16, Chicago, Illinois--The Democratic candidate said he would seek world agreement on ending the H-bomb tests, if elected.

7. October 19, Youngstown, Ohio--Stevenson suggested that the draft might be replaced by a professional, specially trained, highly paid, volunteer defense corps.

8. October 24, New York, New York--Stevenson said that the key to world peace was curbing the H-bomb. He also assailed Nixon and the administration's foreign policy.

9. October 30, Boston, Massachusetts--Stevenson charged that the President was a part-time politician and that Eisenhower had given the nation false reassurances about the Middle East.

10. November 2, Buffalo, New York--Stevenson said the Middle East crisis was a direct product of the abysmal, complete and catastrophic failure of President Eisenhower's foreign policy.

Note: These events all appeared on page one of the New York Times on the dates indicated.

APPENDIX B

SIGNIFICANT REPUBLICAN EVENTS IN THE 1956 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

1. September 13, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania--Eisenhower opened his campaign and called for a new crusade to capture independent and Democratic votes.

2. September 20, Washington, D. C.--The President said that his administration had restored peace around the world, stopped aggression and built prosperity and unity at home.

3. September 26, Peoria, Illinois--Eisenhower assailed Stevenson's farm program. He said that it was a program for politicians, not farmers.

4. October 2, Lexington, Kentucky--The President charged that Democrats in Congress had been solely responsible for killing the federal aid to school construction.

5. October 10, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania--Eisenhower struck hard at Stevenson's proposals for abolition of the draft and hydrogen bomb tests.

6. October 17, Minneapolis, Minnesota--Eisenhower promised better times for the farmers through rigid supports. He heaped scorn on Stevenson's promise of rigid price supports for farmers.

7. October 20, Los Angeles, California--Eisenhower

revived the 1952 corruption charge against the Democratic Party and ridiculed Stevenson's draft stand.

8. October 24, Washington, D. C.--President Eisenhower claimed the ban on testing the H-bomb would imperil the U.S. lead in arms. He said that it was an illusion to believe Stevenson's argument that the ban would lead to progress toward peace and lessening of the nuclear war threat.

9. October 26, New York, New York--Eisenhower vowed to pursue policies of peace and strength that would not lead to man's being crucified upon a cross of iron.

10. November 2, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania--The President asked the nation to judge whether it would feel "safe or secure" in the present world crisis under Stevenson's design for disaster--ending the draft and hydrogen bomb tests.

Note: These events all appeared on page one of the New York Times on the dates indicated.

APPENDIX C

SIGNIFICANT DEMOCRATIC EVENTS IN THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

1. September 8, Detroit, Michigan--President Johnson opened his campaign and appealed for the submergence of passions and conflicting interests while pursuing prosperity, justice and peace. He also attacked Goldwater's views on "conventional nuclear weapons."

2. September 17, Seattle, Washington--The President assured the country that his administration had "taken every step man can devise to ensure that neither a madman nor a malfunction could trigger a nuclear war.

3. September 23, Atlantic City, New Jersey--Johnson promised to cut excise taxes next year. He said there is no limit to what a united, tolerant nation could achieve.

4. September 29, Manchester, New Hampshire--The President invited responsible Republicans to join with himself as a political protector and his candidacy as a sanctuary for dissident Republicans.

5. October 8, Chicago, Illinois--Johnson asserted that continuance of peace and prosperity is the basic campaign issue.

6. October 13, Butte, Montana--The President predicted if he were elected that the extremist groups--Klu Klux Klan and the John Birch Society--in this country

would be spotlighted to show Americans what they really are --hate preachers.

7. October 15, New York, New York--President Johnson pledged to take important new steps toward lessening world tension, if elected. He promised aid to Asians and hailed the improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations.

8. October 19, Washington, D. C.--The President said that despite the Chinese Communists' nuclear explosion and the change of government in the Soviet Union, "the key to peace is to be found in the strength and the good sense of the U.S." He pledged strong support to countries that lacked nuclear weapons.

9. October 29, San Diego, California--Johnson stressed the need for restraint and responsibility in dealing with a communist world armed with nuclear weapons and he urged a big voter turnout.

10. October 30, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania--The President defended the clergymen and said that "men in the pulpit have a place in political leadership of our people and they have a place in our public affairs."

Note: These events all appeared on page one of the New York Times on the dates indicated, except the one event with the starred date. That story appeared in the following day's Times.

APPENDIX D

SIGNIFICANT REPUBLICAN EVENTS IN THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

1. September 4, Prescott, Arizona--Goldwater opened his campaign and promised a gradual change, if elected.

2. September 16, St. Petersburg, Florida--Senator Goldwater pledged to work to overturn a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions on rights of defendants in criminal prosecutions.

3. September 17, Montgomery, Alabama--Goldwater said that it was desirable to sell the Tennessee Valley Authority to private enterprise. He also called for elimination of earmarked federal grants to cities and states.

4. September 22, Charlotte, North Carolina--Goldwater challenged President Johnson to a television debate. He also accused the President of avoiding issues of the campaign. He promised "to give the government of this nation back to the people of this nation."

5. September 24, Dallas, Texas--Goldwater said that the responsible use of power through military force was the key to a rational solution that could end the cold war without nuclear destruction or a Communist takeover.

6. September 30, Cincinnati, Ohio--Goldwater charged that the Johnson administration was soft on communism and that the Democratic Party is the party of "the corrupt, the

power mad, and the radical of the left."

7. October 10, San Francisco, California--Goldwater attacked the "silly sick, weak attitude about world communism" that permeates Washington. He said as the administration leaders looked around the world they "shudder and shake" and want "to yield and give."

8. October 21, Pikesville, Maryland--Goldwater said President Johnson "doesn't understand the President's job." And he charged that in the field of foreign affairs Mr. Johnson and his crew followed a "policy of drift, deception and defeat."

9. October 24, San Diego, California--Goldwater said the State Department gave data to aides before they had full clearances and said the White House was careless about the Jenkins case.

10. October 29, Cedar Rapids, Iowa--Goldwater charged that ministers were "loud advocates" of the President. He said representative government was not in working order due to the insatiable desire of President Johnson for more and more power. He also attacked the Supreme Court decisions on prayer in school.

Note: These events all appeared on page one of the New York Times on the dates indicated.

thesR355
Coverage by eight Wisconsin newspapers o
3 2768 001 00664 6
DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY